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SOUTH AFRICA:
A POLICY REASSESSMENT FOR THE 1990's

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INTRODUCTION

South Africa is in a state of political, social, and economic crisis that threatens the stability of the entire southern African region. The fact that fundamental change will come to South Africa is not in doubt -- the process is already underway. What is in doubt is how change will take place. Will there continue to be increasing violence and bloodshed leading to a civil war, or will negotiations take place between the various South African factions and lead to a more peaceful evolution toward majority rule?

The future for all South Africans is at stake. For the other countries of the southern African region, and for the United States and its allies the outcome of the struggle for political equality in South Africa is of enormous importance. As long as there is hope for a peaceful transition to majority rule in South Africa, the United States should be involved in a meaningful way. What role should the U.S. play? This essay will provide an overall review of the South African challenge and provide policy initiatives for U.S. involvement during the next decade.

THE EARLY STRUGGLES AGAINST WHITE SUPREMACY

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WHITE RULE

The earliest recorded inhabitants of South Africa were the San (Bushmen), the Khoi (Hottentots), and the Nguni (Xhosa, Zulu, Swasi, Ndebele). The Nguni comprised the majority of the indigenous population which extended throughout South Africa and north to Zambia and Malawi.

The first white settlers in South Africa were the Dutch who established a site at the present-day coastal city of Cape Town in 1652. This site was initially a refreshment station for the sailing ships of the Dutch East India Company. As more white settlers arrived, including French Huguenots fleeing from religious persecution, farms were established deeper into the interior. Slave labor served as the backbone of the farm economy. Clashes with the indigenous populations increased in relationship to the pace of expansion into the interior.

German settlers joined the French and Dutch and eventually a unique language developed called, Afrikaans, a simplified form of Dutch primarily spoken by farmers living in rural areas. These speakers became known as the Boers (the African word for farmers), and also the Afrikaners. The Afrikaners followed a religious creed, taught by the Dutch Church, that proclaimed them as the chosen race destined by God to inherit a promised land, to extend their domination over it and to keep themselves segregated from different races, as the Creation had distinguished between species and types of animals. A moral basis was now established for white supremacy in the Republic's formative years.

In 1795 a British force conquered the colony in Cape Town and after the Napoleonic wars formally acquired the entire colony under the terms of the European Settlement of 1814. Further British immigration increased the English speaking population to the ratio now existing in South Africa today, one third English speaking to two thirds Afrikaner.

By 1835 the British rulers abolished slavery and the Boers responded by undertaking a mass migration away from British influence deeper into the interior (The Great Trek of 1835). As the Boers trekked further into the interior of South Africa they met their strongest resistance from the nomadic Xhosas, hereafter called the Zulus, who refused to yield grazing land. This resulted in

some of the most violent clashes between the Zulus and the Boers which was to persist over the next several decades. Eventually the Boers prevailed, at great costs to both sides, and established the Transvaal (1852) and the Orange Free State (1854). The Afrikaners established constitutions which proclaimed that as far as blacks were concerned there could be no equality in church or state.

In 1860 the British brought indentured servants from India to work on the sugar plantations. This added another racial element which would eventually number half a million and constitute an active anti-apartheid community. The fourth racial group were the Coloreds who were growing rapidly due to amalgamation of the races.

The discovery of mineral and gold in the Transvaal catalyzed British ambitions to acquire the territory from the Boers. The Boers violently resisted. Britain poured troops into the Transvaal until it won a war of attrition in 1902 (The Boer War). The Transvaal and Orange Free State were added to British South Africa by the Treaty of Vereeniging that year. However a Liberal government came to power in Britain in 1905 and negotiated a separation of powers between the British colonies of Cape and Natal and Transvaal and the Orange Free State. When the Boers regained control of the Transvaal they shared the mineral wealth with the British and re-established economic white supremacy. This time white supremacy enjoyed British support under the newly created Union of South Africa.

THE FORMALIZATION OF RESISTANCE

Black African protests against labor policies became firmly entrenched by 1914. Even military resistance was attempted by the Zulus in the "Bambata Rebellion" of 1906. All forms of resistance were doomed to failure at that time because of superior European military power, a situation existing today. Only the Black Christian Church (called the Ethiopian Church) was successful to a large extent in providing a spirit of opposition against white supremacy and in providing education and contemporary Black African consciousness.

Mahatma's Gandhi formed the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 and the Colored population formed the African Peoples Organization in 1902. In 1925 the African National Congress (ANC) was formed out of an earlier organization called the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) which was founded in 1912. The ANC had a strong commitment toward non violence and was recognized as the main black liberation movement of South Africa. Although these nonviolent protest groups mutually supported each other, they were

generally ignored by the deeply entrenched and more powerful white supremacist structure.

White rule was accelerated with the establishment of the Afrikaner Nationalist Party in 1914 and the Afrikaner Broederbond in 1918. The Broederbond (Brotherhood) was established with the goal of attaining and maintaining total Afrikaner control of South Africa in every sphere. By 1924 the Afrikaner Nationalist Party won the general elections and immediately carried out their agenda. The government reinforced white supremacy; proclaimed the supremacy of the Afrikaners over other whites; made Afrikaans the official language; adopted an Afrikaans national anthem; and petitioned Britain unsuccessfully for full independence.

The stage for minority rule and white supremacy was now set. A brief overview of the struggles waged by the majority population against this system from the turn of the century until 1980 is as follows:

1. In 1917-18 the Industrial Workers of Africa and the ANC staged a strike of municipal employees in Johannesburg. In the same year thousands of miners held a two month partially successful boycott of shops belonging to mine owners.
2. In 1921 the army killed more than 163 women and children in the Eastern Cape who refused to move from state land on which they were camping.
3. In 1929 the South African Communist Party (SACP), the ANC, and the ICU formed the League of African Rights. The League demanded abolition of the Pass Laws, the right to education and political rights for non-whites. A bloody massacre of League followers took place on December 16, 1930, in Durban before the movement was crushed.
4. In 1940 the ANC was revitalized by the influx of a new wave of dynamic young members including two lawyers, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.
5. In 1946 about 100,000 mineworkers took part in a strike, demanding a guaranteed minimum wage. It lasted about one week in the face of violent reprisals by Pretoria. That same year the Indian Congress launched an unsuccessful passive resistance campaign against discrimination.
6. In 1950 Mandela became president of the Youth League of the ANC. On June 26 of that year a cooperative effort between the ANC, the Youth League, the Indian Congress and the Communist Party resulted in a "stay at home" demonstration. This successful event was called "National Freedom Day".
7. In 1952 the same coalition called demonstrations to coincide with the

300th anniversary of the white settlement at Cape Town. They also called for human dignity, equality and freedom for every South African. Tens of thousands of blacks marched peacefully through areas reserved for whites and sat down on benches and entered railway station sections reserved for whites. The police responded with force. Riots quickly broke out in several cities and hundreds of blacks were killed and thousands wounded. Membership in the ANC rapidly soared to over 100,000.

8. In 1955 an alliance of the ANC with the Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Colored Peoples Organization was formed. They called themselves the "Congress of the People." The Congress drafted a document on June 25, 1955 known as the Freedom Charter. The Charter stated that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and no government can claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people." The government responded by banning the leaders and passing a Public Safety Act which provided for severe punishment for "disobedience to discriminatory practices." The movement was eventually defeated after a series of Treason Trials lasting from December 1956 to March 1961.
9. In 1957 over 50,000 people from the black township of Alexandria successfully boycotted the official bus service, forcing them to reduce recently increased fares.
10. In 1959-60 the Pan African Congress (PAC) was formed from ANC dissidents. One year later PAC and the ANC launched anti-pass law demonstrations. In Sharpeville a crowd of several thousand demonstrators were fired upon by police, killing 69 and wounding 180 (The Sharpeville Massacre). Most were shot in the back and included women and children. As news of the Sharpeville massacre spread, riots broke out in several cities and a State of Emergency was declared. Order was restored only after the arrest of more than 20,000 people. PAC and ANC were declared illegal and banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.
11. The banned ANC, represented by Mandela, Sisulu and others, and SACP formed the Unkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation) to carry out a program of graduated violence against South Africa. Cells were established throughout the country and acts of sabotage initiated. By mid 1963 more than 200 acts of sabotage had been committed by Unkhonto weSizwe. In 1964 Mandela and his co-leaders were apprehended and sentenced to life in prison.
12. In 1976, school children in Soweto demonstrated against teaching Afrikaans as a compulsory language. Soon the demonstrations grew into a generalized protest against apartheid and spread to other parts of the country. Street fighting began on 16 June after a march by about 3000

unarmed pupils as young as ten years old. Police used guns, helicopters and other riot control weapons to suppress the demonstrations. After several days of clashes the death toll was approximately 176. The mood of resistance that Soweto created persisted nation wide for several months. A commission appointed by the government (Teh Cillie Commission) reported that between June 1976 and February 1977, when the protests ended, 574 people, had been killed. The Commission also exonerated the police. This resulted in a mass exodus of students from South Africa to join the ranks of exiled liberation movements.

13. In 1977 almost all Black South African protest organizations coordinated their activities to form a "Black Consciousness Movement." This was lead by Steve Biko. The movement encouraged blacks to help themselves with the ultimate aim of achieving a non-racial society. Steve Biko was later arrested and on September 12, 1977, it was announced that Biko had died in a Pretoria prison cell following a seven day hunger strike. However, evidence suggested he had been tortured to death by his interrogators.
14. In 1980 Black and Colored school children boycotted classes in Pretoria to protest against an inferior educational system. The protests soon spread to other cities. In May, police fired on children between 11 and 14 years old near Cape Town, killing two. On June 18th in Cape Town there were 29 demonstrators killed by security officials. The government also closed 74 out of 105 primary schools before the protests were discontinued.

The historical struggle that non-white South Africans have waged against white supremacy is significant and must be considered in the context of any U.S. Strategic Plan for South Africa. This will become more evident as we look at recent developments in South Africa.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF APARTHEID

"Official Apartheid" was established following the South African parliamentary elections of May 26, 1948 which was won by Dr. D.F. Malan of the Nationalist Party. Malan campaigned on a policy of apartheid which was a slogan meaning intensification of racial discrimination. In Afrikaans apartheid means separateness; segregated, separate existence and development. Apartheid was to be superimposed on a system of white supremacy and minority rule which was already firmly entrenched.

The system of apartheid was built law upon law until it rested upon a foundation of the following laws and Acts:

1. The Group Areas Act of 1950 This law empowered the government to declare parts of the country as settlement areas for specified ethnic groups. Persons in these areas belonging to other ethnic groups had to be evacuated from the area. A Resettlement Board was set up to monitor the program. In the mid-1950s thousand of non-white Africans were evicted from towns and settled far beyond the city's limits.
2. The Population Registration Act of 1950 Under this law , every person reaching the age of 16 must receive an identity card which indicates their ethnic group and description. This was designed to prohibit light skinned Coloreds from being able to pass as European, or Black Africans as Colored.
3. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 Under this law, any persons or organizations were labeled as Communist if they sought " any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union by the promotion of disturbances and disorders, by unlawful acts or omissions or by the threat of such acts or omissions or by means which include the promotion of disturbance or disorder, or such acts or omissions or threat".¹ Thus any person declared to be a Communist could be arrested, deported, evicted, restricted and barred from political activity.
4. The Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act of 1952 The Bantustan concept was enforced by the Pass Laws . The government updated these laws by replacing passes with a "reference book." Non-whites were required to carry these reference books at all times and to show them on demand to police.
5. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 Curtailed the curriculum for Black Africans in the majority of South African schools. Dr. Verwoerd, then Minister for Native Affairs, said it was no use teaching an African child mathematics since he would never be able to apply it in practice; he also

said Bantu education should equip Africans for "no place in white society above certain forms of labor"

6. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 This law gave the Labor Minister the right to reserve jobs in any industry for members of one race. This legal mechanism was used to bar all non-whites from skilled jobs.
7. The Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 This law designated areas of South Africa as "Black National Units," or "Homelands" to which huge numbers of blacks were moved. These units were also called "Bantustans." The basis of apartheid theory is that black South Africans were required to live in their own homelands. Outside these areas they were considered temporary resident aliens. By 1979 three Bantustans were granted independence (Venda, Transkei and Bophuthatswana). Under a 1978 Act, children born in the Bantustan after their independence would not qualify for South African citizenship. The logical extension of this means that eventually there would not be one black man with South African citizenship.

In 1956, the Coloreds were excluded from the right to vote which was previously granted by the South Africa Act of 1909. The Nationalists adopted the term "Bantu" instead of "Native", because the Boers claim that they too are natives and also Africans, so the indigenous people in their view could not be called Africans.

The extent of apartheid oppression becomes more apparent when one briefly examines the laws upon which apartheid was superimposed. The Constitution which formed the Union of South Africa on May 31, 1910, excluded all non-whites from participation in national decision making processes. This remains unchanged today. Indeed over the next 38 years there were more than 36 laws passed limiting non-whites rights to own land or move freely about the country. A few of the more notable early laws were:

1. The Native Land Act of 1913, divided South Africa into areas of white and non-white ownership. The majority non-white population was allocated 13 percent of the land and the other 87 percent was almost entirely for the whites. This excluded areas around cities such as Johannesburg. "Black townships" quickly grew up around these cities.
2. The Pass Laws of the 1920s were instituted to control non-white movements in industrial and urban areas. Their movements were controlled to insure they were in certain areas only with permission of the white occupants. Pass Laws were primary tools of apartheid until replaced by pass books in 1952.
3. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1937 declared that Black Africans working in industry were regarded as servants, not workers. Therefore

they were not entitled to workers benefits. South African mines were using mainly non-South African black labor from the front-line states e.g. Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia etc. This served white supremacy in three ways: the rapid turnover of unskilled labor kept the labor force unstable and cheap; there were no permanent labor forces which could organize; and it fostered an economic dependence on South Africa by the front-line states.

THE CHANGING FACE OF APARTHEID

Under the Nationalist governments of Dr Malan (1948-54), Mr Strijdom (1954-58), Dr Verwoerd (1958-66), and Mr Vorster (1966-78), apartheid's noose was drawn tightly around the necks of non-whites. However, growing international hostility toward apartheid and South Africa's growing isolation from the world community prompted a philosophical debate within the National Party of Mr. Vorster. The debate revolved around certain aspects of apartheid and how the government should respond to the attitudes of the outside world while keeping the basic structure of apartheid intact.

There were two factions in the debate, the Verligtes (enlightened ones) and the Verdrampes (narrow minded ones). The Verligtes, headed by Mr. Vorster, believed that concessions to blacks (racial segregation in theaters, restaurants, public accommodations sports etc.), would diminish black demands for majority rule. Also by creating a black middle class and granting blacks partial membership in political bodies, which do not threaten white control, would co-opt these new moderate blacks from mainstream black liberation movements. By creating this "petty apartheid system," the government would buy time to consolidate control with a rapidly growing military establishment. The Verkrampes, on the other hand, opposed all concessions to blacks for fear that any erosion of apartheid would weaken the core and hasten its end. Mr. Vorsters faction prevailed and concessions were gradually implemented by the late 1970s.

When Botha assumed control in 1979, he continued the initiatives to modify apartheid without changing the basic system. Before Vorster resigned, steps were taken to end segregation in some hotels, theaters, buses and beaches, and to allow some private schools to admit pupils of more than one race. In December 1979 the permits system for admission to public facilities was relaxed so that clubs, hospitals, libraries and restaurants could obtain exemptions from segregation laws.

Later that year Pretoria accepted the results of the Wiehahn Report, a commission appointed by Botha, which recommended that blacks be allowed

to join registered trade unions and that the job reservations system be terminated.

Independent trade unions were quickly created and blacks were admitted to apprenticeship programs for skilled jobs. The government also allowed blacks in Townships to own homes; have more involvement in local administration; granted approval to white businesses to form minority business partnerships with blacks and formed a development corporation to encourage small Black, Colored and Indian businesses. These programs were designed to enhance the formation of a stable black middle class which could be enlisted as allies of the system.

As the 1980s dawned, considerations were being given to granting a degree of political representation for non-whites, an issue which will be addressed later.

PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BOTHA GOVERNMENT

At this point it is instructive to briefly assess the personality characteristics of Botha and his Nationalist Party. Having a general understanding of factors which motivate the "Afrikaner Persona" can aid in providing predictive indicators of governmental responses to perceived external and internal threats.

A high distrust of others and wariness of outsiders are personality characteristics of Afrikaners. Factors contributing to this includes the Afrikaner history; the growing hostility of the front-line states; the need to maintain white minority rule over an increasingly hostile multiracial population; and increasing international isolation. Thus Afrikaners feel strongly antagonistic toward other countries playing a role in solving South Africa's problems. Botha's personality and experiences as the previous Minister of Defense reinforces this distrust. Also the rise of the military's role in national security activities of the government reflects perceived threats to South Africa and Botha's fondness of military rationalization, extensive planning, and structured staff systems.

In the Botha government security technocrats rank high in the echelons of power. The government's security policy decision-making apparatus is highly centralized which effectively shortens the distance between policy makers and intelligence producers. This probably results in a loss of objectivity and integrity in intelligence analysis. This can be demonstrated by a foreign policy that is inconsistent and heavily influenced by the Afrikaner intuition. As a

result South African policies that appear incoherent to outsiders are indeed consistent with the world view of this inner group of decision makers.. Central to this is a perception that a loss of control of apartheid to a hostile political movement would cause great damage to Botha and to the right flank of the Nationalist Party. Botha, therefore, would be especially wary of outside intervention and assistance by western interests especially the United States. In this area he shares similar views with his defense hawks. ²

US INTERESTS AND POLICY OBJECTIVES

"This Administration is not only . . . against apartheid; we are for a new South Africa, a new nation where all that has been built up over generations is not destroyed, a new society where participation in the social, cultural and political life is open to all people -- a new South Africa that comes home to the family of free nations where it belongs."

President Reagan July 22, 1986

The above statement by President Reagan marked a turning point in U.S. policy towards South Africa. For more than a decade, during three administrations, the United States has been actively involved in the search for democracy, justice and economic growth in southern Africa. Seeking peaceful resolution of the region's political and security problems, and addressing the human condition of the region's disadvantaged, are goals that have been accepted on a broad, bipartisan basis.

Indeed all of Southern Africa's political orientation, stability, and economic well-being is central to U.S. policy. America's interests in the region are best served by countries that have pluralistic, representative governments, that are secure from external threats and supported by open and competitive economies. Currently, however, the majority-ruled countries in the region are beset by economic vulnerabilities, widespread poverty, and a variety of other external and internal problems. Internal conflict in South Africa, and South Africa's direct and indirect influence over the economic well-being of its neighbors, have created a heightened sense of insecurity in the region.

America has no military interests in South Africa other than a small Defense Attache Office and Marine guards attached to the embassy in Pretoria. South Africa's position astride the sealanes around the Cape of Good Hope constitute minimal threat to U.S. rights of passage during hostilities. However its geographic location can be strategically important to the U.S. for overflight privileges, basing rights and prepositioning of supplies for future contingencies in the region. It is also important to the U.S. that South Africa not fall under the control of a government hostile to us or one allied with the USSR that might allow the establishment of a Soviet military presence. Moscow can be expected to continue a policy of limited financial and military support for the ANC and especially SACP but without becoming directly involved. The Soviets do stand to gain, however, if a protracted conflict in South Africa embitters that country's black majority against the West.

Material interests of the United States in South Africa are modest. Less than one percent of U.S. foreign trade and less than one percent of U.S. direct investment overseas is in South Africa. However the United States traditionally imports more than 50% of its needs for at least ten minerals deemed of either strategic or critical importance to our national defense. A minerals cutoff by counter-sanctions or by a breakdown of the South African economy and infrastructure, could have an adverse impact on the United States. But the potential impact of such a denial should not be sufficient cause to undermine U. S. policy towards South Africa.

In compliance with section 303 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act the President certified the following ten minerals as strategic and essential for the economy and defense of the United States and are not available from reliable and secure suppliers: ³

1. Andalusite -- used for making iron and steel furnaces refractory against expanding and contracting under temperature changes.
2. Chrysotile Asbestos -- its excellent electrical and thermal conductivity makes it attractive for missile and submarine construction. Zimbabwe is the only source of this grade asbestos in the world and is dependent on South Africa's transportation system to export it.
3. Cobalt -- corrosive and heat resistant alloy used in jet engines, metal cutting etc. Produced in Zaire and Zambia and shipped through South Africa for export.
4. Industrial Diamonds (Natural) -- used for drilling bits, saws, abrasives, diamond wheels etc. Zaire, Botswana, and Australia produce significant amounts in addition to South Africa. However, Zaire and Botswana depend on South African transportation systems for export.
5. Manganese -- increases the strength, toughness, hardness and hardenability of steel. There is excess manganese metal production capacity in the United States.
6. Platinum Group Metals -- chemically inert and refractoriness makes it ideal for automobile catalytic converters. All the worlds supplies come from South Africa, USSR and Canada (8%).
7. Rutile and Titanium-Bearing Slag -- used to manufacture titanium metal. Its high strength-to-weight ratio and resistance to heat and corrosion makes it ideal for aircraft frames and jet engines. Australia and Sierra Leone are the only other sources of rutile besides South Africa (the worlds largest producer). However the current worldwide consumption of this metal has created significant shortages
8. Vanadium -- imparts resistance to high temperatures and abrasion to steel. Also increases toughness, ductility and strength to steel. Important

to the automobile industry and the construction industry. The U.S. could supply all of its own vanadium needs at increased cost.

9. Antimony -- enhances hardness, corrosion resistance and strength of metal used for storage batteries, power transmission equipment, flame retardants etc. South Africa supplies greater than 14% of U.S. antimony. Other major sources of antimony are China, Bolivia, USSR, and Mexico.
10. Chromium (Ferroalloy) -- essential for stainless steel and superalloy production, and therefore vitally important in the defense, aerospace, chemical, power-generation and transportation industries. South Africa produces 34% of worlds chromium, the USSR 30% and Zimbabwe contains significant quantities which must be exported by way of South Africa's transport system.

In preparing the above list of 10 strategic minerals, several factors, including (1) whether the absence of the specified minerals would adversely affect the peacetime economy of the United States, its competitiveness, or its defense, use (2) whether the minerals are available in sufficient quantities from alternative reliable and secure suppliers. The Soviet Union and the Eastern European bloc were not considered to be reliable and secure suppliers within the meaning of the act.

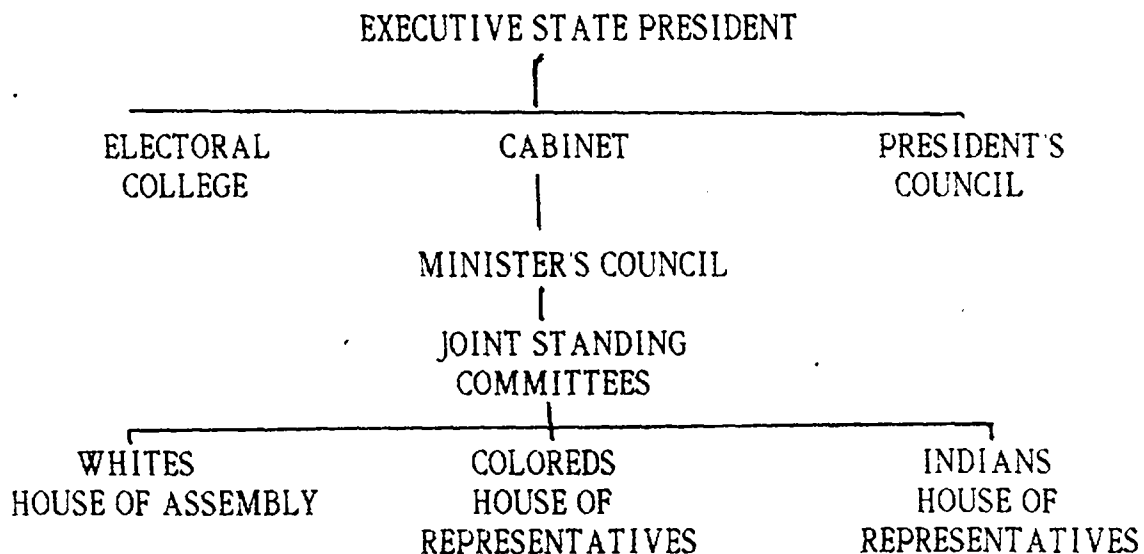
According to a Congressional GAO report, September 1988, alternative supply sources exist for the above certified strategic minerals with the exception of platinum, rhodium, a specific type of industrial diamond, a specific grade of chrysotile asbestos, and andalusite. These minerals could be available to the United States during a U.S. unilateral embargo although there would probably be supply disruptions and increased economic cost to the United States, e.g., transporting chrysotile asbestos from Zimbabwe by air; substituting bauxites and clays for andalusite; recycling and stockpiling platinum and rhodium etc. The type II-B industrial diamond has a unique defense application and is produced in a single mine in the world, which is in South Africa.

In summary, United States interests in southern Africa, a region nearly as large as the continental U.S. with a population of over 100 million people, is derived from the region's political stability, its strategic location, its economic relationships with the West, and its minerals which are essential to western industrial production. More fundamentally, America has an intense domestic interest in the advancement of human rights, economic freedom and the well being of the disadvantaged, the disenfranchised, the hungry and displaced people of the entire region..

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Shortly after assuming the presidency, P.W. Botha moved quickly to consolidate power and to simultaneously formalize the new face of apartheid by proposing a new Constitution. First Botha formed a coalition with the more moderate Anglophone (English) constituency in Parliament. This enabled him to expand his political power base and move his party to the center. While moving ahead with his reforms, the Right Wing of the Ruling National Party (largely composed of Transvaal Nationalists), were angered by Botha's plans to bring Colored and Indian representation into the central political system. They broke away in 1982 and formed the Conservative Party of South Africa. However Botha knew this opposition was not strong enough to threaten his Afrikaner/English speaking coalitions plans to adopt the proposed constitution.

Botha's constitutional referendum of 1983 culminated his drive for increased governmental control. The new constitution radically changed the structure of the government by centralizing decision making processes while including Colored and Indian representation for the first time. Unfortunately Black Africans were not represented. In November 1984 Botha was sworn in as the first Executive President of South Africa under the new constitution (see below). This gave him the greatest concentration of executive power ever experienced by a South African political leader.



Introduction of the 1984 constitution was widely interpreted by blacks as a transparent attempt to co-opt Coloreds and Indians and deny the Black

majority any future political role. A groundswell of black protests began. It was fueled by a recent surge of black trade union growth and in the creation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an umbrella organization including several hundred local groups. UDF leadership included a large contingent of former ANC members and some 600 community, church, civic and labor organizations. The UDF launched a successful boycott of the elections for Colored and Indian representatives to the House in the new Parliament. In September 1984, larger outbreaks of protests, boycotts, demonstrations and violence spread rapidly throughout the country.

It was not long before the Nationalist government was faced with its most serious and sustained challenge since coming to power in 1948. Pretoria immediately began a series of showcase trials of UDF leaders to prove the organization was nothing more than a front in South Africa for the banned ANC and SACP. However, country wide protests, violence (black-on-black and black-on-white), and strikes continued. The international news media began to focus world-wide attention on apartheid under attack.

Botha, remained undaunted and in 1986 instituted the following reforms:

1. Restored limited South African citizenship to blacks who lost it when four Bantustans became independent.
2. Pass Laws were abolished but all South Africans were required to have their race designated on new identity documents. However, authorities enforced anti-vagrancy and anti-squatting statutes with increased vigor.
3. Blacks were allowed to buy houses but only in segregated areas of white South Africa which were available to them.
4. Central business districts were open to all races, but only in areas where white controlled municipal authorities would permitted it.
5. Appointed a committee to look into the Group Areas Act, to determine if modifications should be made.
6. Set up a National Statutory Council to establish a dialogue with black leaders on future constitutional changes.
7. Replaced all-white elected provincial legislatures with a new multiracial body having executive powers but with its members appointed by the government.
8. At the municipal level, Regional Service Councils were established for the purpose of bringing all races together to administer public services such as water, power, roads and sewage.
9. Considered releasing Nelson Mandela but, upon the advice of his security officials, decided on less restrictive retention.

Botha went further and stated on January 31, 1986 that "We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated

concept of apartheid. "The government accepts an undivided South Africa where all regions and communities within its boundaries form part of the South African state, with the right to participate in institutions to be negotiated collectively." All South Africans, he said, should participate in a "democratic system of government."

As some of the promised reforms were being carried out they had little effect in quelling the unrest among Blacks. Botha decided to change his course in the second half of 1986. He was increasingly concerned about the intimidation, killing and resignations of black municipal officials in the townships who constituted his vanguard of moderate blacks. The growth of white right wing groups; serious discussions of sanctions in the United States; threatened demonstrations by South African Blacks in observance of the upcoming tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto Massacre; and increasing international isolation prompted Botha to declare a state of emergency four days before the Soweto anniversary.

The British Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG), a panel of distinguished individuals charged with seeking avenues of negotiations, concluded that:

WHILE THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS TO BE READY TO NEGOTIATE, IT IS IN TRUTH NOT YET PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE, NOR TO COUNTENANCE THE CREATION OF GENUINE DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES, NOR TO FACE THE PROSPECT OF THE END OF WHITE DOMINATION AND WHITE POWER IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. IT'S PROGRAM OF REFORM DOES NOT END APARTHEID, BUT SEEKS TO GIVE IT A LESS INHUMAN FACE. IT'S QUEST IS POWER-SHARING, BUT WITHOUT SURRENDERING OVERALL WHITE Control. ⁴

One of Botha's first acts during the state of emergency was to form Joint Management Committees, composed of military and police representatives, businessmen and some black political leaders. The committees became part of an elaborate intelligence network called the National Security Management System, which was controlled by the military-dominated State Security Council. These JMCs provided quick, efficient intelligence services of resistance activities.

Other actions taken by Pretoria were designed to discredit black organizations; to destroy alternative anti-government groups that had arisen in many townships; to build up local warlords and to create a climate of civil war in the townships. Some specific actions used to carry out these objectives included:

1. Detaining thousands of Anti-government activists, UDF politicians, clergy, civic and community leaders and labor union officials.
2. Declaring as subversive any protests that had been used in the arsenal of

black rebellion since the 1984 uprisings.

3. Giving tacit support to pro-government vigilante groups "the Fathers" against young radical community groups called "the Comrads." This fostered black-on-black violence.
4. Suspending or slowing down its apartheid reform program.
5. Accelerating forced removal of black communities from proximity to white communities.
6. Imposing severe restrictions and/or banning press coverage of activities.

The blood of South Africans continues to run today. More than 35,000 soldiers plus the 50,000 man police force have been committed to containing the unrest. More than 2,100 people -- most of them black -- were killed in political violence before press censorship in mid 1986 made it difficult to obtain casualty figures. Some of the black-on-black violence included "necklacing," a form of lynching in which gasoline-soaked tires are thrown around a victim and set on fire.

Even though the press has been effectively muzzled, government leaks indicate that people are still dying daily. Against significant odds, black challenges against the government goes on at many different levels and in many different ways. Indeed, an entire generation of black African youth, most of whom have been out of school for several years, has been deeply traumatized and perhaps permanently radicalized by a daily diet of suffering, witnessing shootings, burnings, jailings, and torture. The scope of this human tragedy is apparent when one considers that half of the black population in South Africa is less than 18 years old.

POLICY INITIATIVES DURING THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

The drama of the crisis in South Africa was being matched by a rise of interest and activism in the United States. The Reagan administration failed to keep pace with the fast-breaking events in South Africa, especially since 1974. South Africa had traditionally been of secondary importance in U.S. foreign policy until domestic anti-apartheid sentiment grew dramatically. There were several reasons for this growth. Television brought the unrest and accompanying violence into American homes for the first time; the Democrats were ready to unite around an issue as clear-cut as apartheid; Randall

Robinson, the director of Trans-Africa, launched the Free South Africa Movement with demonstrations and sit-ins at South African diplomatic missions around the country; younger Republicans were anxious to make a point that conservatism -- a legitimate creed -- did not imply racism; and the political reality that there was no political mileage to be gained by supporting apartheid.

CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT

A problem for the Administration was losing the credibility of their "Constructive Engagement Policy" towards South Africa. As originally conceived, constructive engagement was to have promoted debate within South Africa; opened lines of communication with credible black leaders; and held Pretoria to its promises of reform. The State Department, under Chester Crocker's leadership, had adopted this approach starting in 1980.

There were good reasons for this loss of credibility. Pretoria's cosmetic reforms were praised as representing significant progress even though significant steps towards ending apartheid had not been taken. The Reagan Administration even rewarded Pretoria by granting permission to open additional consulates in the U.S.; by resuming U.S. Coast Guard training of South African personnel; relaxing export controls on nuclear technology, computer products, and light aircraft; and providing U.S. vetoes of anti-South African resolutions in the UN Security Council. Additionally the Administration supported the 1984 South African constitution as "a step in the right direction," helped negotiate the 1984 Nkomati agreement, a pact between South Africa and Mozambique that deprived the ANC of sanctuaries but gave Mozambique no security; and armed UNITA in Angola, also an ally of South Africa, while the majority ruled African states supported the MPLA against UNITA.

Indeed Reagan's personal opinion as well as his publicly stated policy of constructive engagement was widely perceived at home and abroad as supportive of Pretoria while simultaneously giving the impression the United States was unconcerned about the fate of the oppressed black majority. Despite some assertions to the contrary, the Administration had few official contacts on a meaningful level or on a regular basis with opposition blacks, including the ANC, before 1984. In 1985 the U.S. anti-apartheid stance in the black community in South Africa and at home was at an all time low.

Mr. Reagan under domestic pressure issued an executive order on September 9, 1985, providing limited economic Sanctions against South Africa. However, in a statement accompanying the order, he explained that he

personally opposed sanctions and was issuing the order only to forestall Congress from adopting even harsher measures. However it was too little and too late. Indeed the Administration seemed to be unaware of the public contradictions in attacking communism on one hand; punishing apartheid on the other and supporting the South African government in general.

THE COMPREHENSIVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT OF 1986

The South African government counted on weak reactions from the United States and its allies as they proceeded with their crackdown on anti-apartheid activities. However, Congress took the initiative and passed the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act of 1986 over President Reagan's veto. It was only then that America began to assert its long overdue leadership. The Act stated that :

THE PURPOSE OF THIS ACT IS TO SET FORTH A COMPREHENSIVE AND COMPLETE FRAME WORK TO GUIDE THE EFFORTS OF THE UNITED STATES IN HELPING TO BRING AN END TO APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA AND LEAD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NON-RACIAL, DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT. THIS ACT SETS OUT UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, THE VICTIMS OF APARTHEID, AND THE OTHER STATES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT ALSO PROVIDES THE PRESIDENT WITH ADDITIONAL AUTHORITY TO WORK WITH THE OTHER INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES TO HELP END APARTHEID AND ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA. ³

The Act, which is currently in effect, bans the importation of certain products from South Africa; exports of certain products to South Africa, bans various financial transactions, and other activities. The ban on U.S. imports from South Africa encompasses (1) gold coins (South African Krugerrands), (2) uranium, (3) iron and steel, (4) coal, (5) agricultural products, (including sugar), (6) textiles, (7) military articles, and (8) products, including U.S. government procurement of goods, from parastatals (companies owned, controlled, or subsidized by the South African government), except strategic minerals certified by the President. The ban on U.S. exports to South Africa includes (1) oil, (2) most items on the U.S. Munitions List (except items used for commercial purposes), (3) nuclear materials and technology, and (4) computers to apartheid agencies (for example, the police and the military).

The ban on financial transactions encompasses (1) new U.S. loans to South Africa (to both government and private entities), (2) new U.S. investment in South Africa (except to firms owned by black South Africans), and (3) South African government and parastatal deposits in U.S. banks. Activities terminated include (1) air transportation to and from South Africa, (2) the treaty between the United States and South Africa preventing double taxation, (3) U.S. government funds to subsidize trade or investment in South Africa,

and (5) U.S. military cooperation with South Africa (except intelligence gathering).

The Act also provides aid to front-line States in an effort to stabilize the region. However Congress then partially compromised this aspect of the Act in international eyes by enacting an amendment to the 1987 supplemental appropriations bill called the Pressler Amendment. It stated that U.S. aid could not be furnished to Botswana, Mozambique, or Zimbabwe unless the President certifies these governments did not advocate necklacing; that they provide assurances they have taken action against any person who has been found to have practiced necklacing against South African blacks and they do not knowingly allow terrorists who practice necklacing to operate within their territory. The emphasis on necklacing, and the unsubstantiated implication that the ANC and the front-line states were jointly responsible, mirrored South African government propaganda at the time.

THE RESULTS OF SANCTIONS

The effects of sanctions on South Africa's willingness to abolish apartheid and provide blacks with majority rule remains controversial. One of the key provisions, Title V, requires the President to provide yearly progress reports to Congress on the extent to which South Africa has made progress toward ending the system of apartheid. Furthermore the President is empowered to take additional measures if he determines that "significant progress has not been made by the Government of South Africa in ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy."

In the face of demonstrated intransigence by the South African government, which is not surprising in light of Afrikaner perceptions of the world, the Reagan Administration continued to assert the wisdom of its original argument against the Act. Namely that sanctions will not weaken the resolve of South Africa's white minority to retain its monopoly of political power. Indeed the Administration asserted that sanctions have the opposite effect.

In the Reagan Administrations report to Congress for the year ending October 2, 1988, he concluded that "additional U.S. economic sanctions mandated by the Act to date have not been successful in moving the South African Government toward the set of goals outlined in Title I of the Act, goals that are shared by the Administration and Congress. Moreover, the South African Government's response to the Act so far gives no grounds for hope that more sanctions will produce better results. The Act has, instead, reduced U.S. leverage, hardened the South African Government's determination to

resist outside pressure, and increased the appeal to South African whites of isolationist, ultra - conservative, and white supremacist movements. Indeed South Africa's response to sanctions has been to place our goals even further from achievement. Because the economic sanctions embodied in the 1986 Act have not been effective in advancing the goals on which Congress and Administration agree, and the conviction that additional measures would be counterproductive, the President recommends the imposition of no additional sanctions at this time." ³

A fundamental problem for the Administration was that Botha's actions combined with Congressionally imposed sanctions effectively killed constructive engagement. Indeed, the above report further states: "Sanctions have hardened South African whites' resistance to change rather than encouraged movement toward the resolution of South Africa's political problems in a manner consistent with western values." The Administration cites the following developments in South Africa after passage of sanctions as justification for its conclusions:

1. Freedom of expression, association, movement, and the press were further restricted e.g. banning of the UDC and the National Education Crisis Committee; Trade Union activities were severely limited, The End Conscription Campaign was banned etc.
2. Continuation of the state-of-emergency with anti-apartheid leaders remaining imprisoned and new detentions continuing to occur weekly.
3. The steady progress made by South Africa in scrapping apartheid laws through mid-1986 was discontinued.
4. The South African Government has given no sign that it is ready to negotiate with credible black leaders except within a narrow context.
5. Growing white support for isolationist, ultra-conservative, and white supremacist political groups within South Africa.

It is important to note that Botha's decision to reject negotiations and take a hard line against reform was taken well before sanctions were enacted. Therefore while the above developments are certainly not progressive, I believe many of the above actions taken were a ploy by Pretoria to justify its obvious policy failures..

Sanctions did not drive South Africa into crisis, they were already there. Indeed, internal developments may have been more repressive in the absence of sanctions. I contend that provisions of the Act, as weakly enforced as they have been, had a moderating impact on Pretoria's actions and that equally significant positive events have occurred after sanctions were enacted. Examples include:

1. The South African Government launched an initiative, with U.S. and USSR

- encouragement , to end its 70 year occupation of Namibia and its involvement in Angola. 2. President Botha traveled to Mozambique and Malawi for constructive talks with these chiefs of state. Cross-country raids by South African forces declined as Botha intensified his efforts to circumvent sanctions by engaging in dialogue with border states.
3. Under sanctions South African businesses influenced the government to stay the execution of the Sharpeville Six. ⁵
 4. A group of prominent Afrikaner intellectuals, businessmen, and politicians traveled to Dakar to meet with a delegation from the ANC. Its purpose was to establish a meaningful dialogue for future relationships. This meeting was preceded a few months earlier by a similar meeting with the head of the Broederbond and a prominent leader of the ANC. Such meetings were unheard of in the pre-apartheid era.
 5. The ongoing "Indaba experiment," in which leaders from all racial groups are seeking to negotiate a new nonracial order for Natal Province, is progressing against opposition from some government leaders and some rival black political organizations because they fear success.
 6. Black leadership, black economic strength, and black organizational skill, aided by powerful political and economic forces, are growing daily. Despite the repression of the state of emergency, blacks continue to express their grievances and flex their political and economic muscles. Blacks are learning that they can sit down as equals with whites and negotiate a share of wealth and power. Each side is gaining respect for the process of negotiation.
 7. Blacks are starting their own businesses in record numbers and moving into managerial positions in major industries.
 8. The Dutch Reformed Church, the largest church among Afrikaners, announced that its previous teaching were wrong: it said that "apartheid is not justified by the Bible and is not in accordance with Christian principles". This moral basis for apartheid was stripped away one year after sanctions were imposed.

Have sanctions been effective? Let's evaluate the effects of sanctions on South Africa's trade patterns, lending to South Africa and U.S. investment in and disinvestment from South Africa. A report to Congress by the GAO in September 1988 provided the following: ⁶

Trade Patterns - Most of South Africa's trade remained with six nations -- Japan, Italy, France, the United States, the United Kingdom, and West Germany. These countries accounted for 81% of South Africa's imports and 78% of its exports in 1987. However there has been a perceptible shift in their shares of imports from and exports to South Africa. Trade data show the total exports of major commodities under sanctions have declined. GAO estimated that sanctions cut South African exports by \$417 million in the first three quarters

of 1986 and 1987. South Africa not only was unable to recover these losses by redirecting trade to other countries but also lost additional trade in these markets, resulting in a total trade reduction in goods under sanction of \$469 million.

Lending - The United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and Switzerland account for almost half of South Africa's \$23 billion in foreign debt. Lending to South Africa by foreign banks has decreased in recent years in reaction to South Africa's perceived political instability, poor economic performance, and 1985 freeze on debt repayment.

Investment and Disinvestment - Despite more than half of U.S. companies withdrawing since 1984, the value of U.S. direct investment in South Africa, adjusted for exchange rate fluctuations, has increased 4%. This increase is largely the result of significant reinvested earnings of U.S. companies in South Africa -- about \$199 million between 1984 and 1987 -- that have offset U.S. disinvestment.

A Wall Street Journal article stated that "by 1990, capital outflows through disinvestment and debt repayment will amount to about 25 billion rands (\$10.4 billion), and the accumulated loss of export earnings through trade sanctions will reach 10 billion rands. The economy will grow little more than 2% a year (less than the rate of population increase), rather than the 5% that could have been achieved without sanctions. As a result the average South African will be 5%-10% poorer by 1990, with unemployment increasing by about 200,000 a year." 5

It is evident that the economic impact of sanctions on South Africa has been mixed. Similarly, evidence over the past few years does not support the opinion of Reagan Administration officials that it would be tragic if the future of the region was mortgaged by sanctions within the region.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The best means of establishing U. S. policy towards South Africa in the coming decade is to go back to basics and reassess the objectives of U.S. policy. The chief objective has been and should remain to assist 25 million black South Africans in securing political equality and economic freedom while insuring its land-locked neighbors survive the process. Of secondary importance, but no less important, is to insure that U.S. strategic interests in the region are protected e.g., access to strategic minerals, friendly governments etc.

With this as a point of departure, historical experiences have clearly shown that merely encouraging South African reform and applying largely unilateral U. S. sanctions has not achieved these objectives. Indeed, there is a broad perception in the United States and internationally that, no matter how strongly Washington condemns apartheid, our true sympathies lie with South Africa's Whites. As a result, our official policies toward South Africa are consistently being unofficially eroded by private and international self interests with impunity. This trend needs to be reversed.

Recommend United States policies and procedures toward South Africa for the 1990s focus around six themes. They are (1) political reality, (2) consistency (3) negotiations, (4) internal assistance (5) regional assistance (6) international sanctions

POLITICAL REALITIES The Bush Administration should continue to recognize that the order of political priorities towards southern Africa remains unchanged despite diminished press coverage. South Africa will remain the regions front-burner issue for the foreseeable future. I agree with Robert Dole, the Republican leader of the Senate, when he remarked that South Africa had become a domestic civil rights issue. "It will be on Congress's agenda every year for the next decade,"

The United States must realize it has only a limited ability to influence developments in South Africa because we do not have the political leverage to force the white ruling group to move faster or further than its own assessment

of risks and gains. Equally applicable is the relative lack of leverage we can apply to South African Blacks to adjust their priorities and tactics to fit our declared aims and perceptions of reality. And finally we must accept the fact that the Afrikaners objective is to survive as a distinctive group with security, culture, language and as much economic privilege as possible. South African Whites, in their own perceptual framework, will not hand over control unless their survival is assured. They readily point to white Rhodesian and Mozambican exiles in their country as a reminder of their vulnerabilities. Their fears are further exacerbated by the Marxist/Socialist rhetoric of several key anti-apartheid leaders.

CONSISTENCY The United States should make it clear to the South African government that it must demonstrate its good faith to blacks by taking prompt and concrete steps toward reversing some of the more repressive apartheid laws, reversing the state of emergency and insuring that all parties (internally and externally) understand what is widely accepted in South Africa that "Apartheid is inadequate for achieving the goals of internal peace and domestic tranquility."

The administration must also clearly dissociate itself from Pretoria's strategy of internal reform (petty apartheid), now in total disrepute among South African blacks. It must commit itself to democracy in South Africa and make concrete proposals toward this goal. Additionally Washington should convey to Pretoria the seriousness of this shift in policy. We must be seen as friends as well as predictable foes and to be as tough on unreasonable anti-apartheid demands as on governmental resistance to abolishing apartheid. It must also be understood that Washington foresees a full-scale race war, in which whites will ultimately be the biggest losers, as the only alternative to a peaceful transition to majority rule.

NEGOTIATIONS International negotiations will one day be as important to South Africa, as it eventually was in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), when the opposing forces became more evenly balanced; when revolutionary fatigue sets in; and when the costs of maintaining the status quo becomes unbearable for those in power. Then, if the United States has positioned itself correctly, it will undoubtedly play a significant role in the road toward successful negotiations.

Until then Washington must continuously apply pressure to bring all concerned parties to the conference table. Maintaining contact with South Africans of all races and political persuasions, and strengthening Black South Africans' bargaining power for eventual negotiations must also be an important component of U.S. policy.

Of course the administration must understand that credible Black South African leaders will not accept political or constitutional solutions prescribed by the American or South African government. Who speaks for whom -- and when -- is a highly sensitive and political issue, and can not be decided until political leaders are released, opposition organizations repatriated, and normal political activities established.

It should also be noted that SACP interests are being served by an inflexible South African attitude toward negotiations with anti-apartheid organizations and their leaders. This will inevitably lead to a new generation of more radical leaders who will likely become more violent and dependent of Soviet-bloc assistance.

INTERNAL ASSISTANCE U.S. assistance programs for the disadvantaged in South Africa must be targeted to help progressive internal organizations survive and prosper. This must remain an integral element of our overall policy towards South Africa. Stronger non-white institutions in South African society can be harnessed to catalyze peaceful change. Indeed South Africans proclaim that the "closer Third World Blacks in South Africa come to the First World White culture, the more receptive the white electorate will be towards majority rule." ⁷ Therefore creating a wide range of personal and institutional ties between disadvantaged South Africans and individuals and organizations in the United States may enhance the dismantling of apartheid.

The U.S. and international governments should continue committing resources to the following programs:

1. Provide academic scholarship support for graduate and undergraduate degree programs in the United States. Provide similar scholastic support for students attending South African universities. This should target new Black leaders who are coming forward but lack essential tools to

- make a difference.
2. Assist black trade unions in training their leaders and in expanding their administrative abilities.
 3. Support training and direct health care assistance programs in the black townships.
 4. Provide support for development of small black private enterprises . A primary focus of this program should be to improve managements skills and abilities to participate in and benefit from the economy and financial markets at large.
 5. Support small miscellaneous self-help projects in black communities.
 6. Support groups and individuals seeking peaceful means of eliminating the discriminatory policies and practices of apartheid. This should include those local and regional community organizations that attempt to cope with a broad range of community social and economic problems.
 7. Assist legal resource centers in South Africa that are helping blacks to fight against the injustices of apartheid.

Unfortunately as this paper is being written the South African government is considering passing the "Disclosure Of Foreign Funding Bill". The purpose of this bill is to "regulate the disclosure of the receipt of money from outside the Republic by or for certain organizations and persons; and to provide for matters connected therewith." Such a measure, if enacted, will provide an impediment to U.S. and other international donor programs and could significantly undermine internal assistance efforts. So much for the credibility of the South African officials First World vs Third World argument.

REGIONAL ASSISTANCE The economic situation in the front line states may decline as the economy of South Africa retrenches. Therefore U.S. policies towards South Africa must be complemented by American diplomatic and political efforts towards all countries in the region. This is a necessary condition for continued regional political stability. Fragile economic conditions in the region and our interests there necessitates more rather than less American engagement. It is in Western interests to commit ourselves to a long-term assistance program in southern Africa -- one that makes good economic sense and that involves a positive vision for the future.

The members of SADCC have shared a long colonial past; unwanted and in many instances unnatural economic dependency on South Africa; and an inability to maintain political institutions and economic infrastructures because of war, destabilization and political and economic uncertainty. SADCC has the largest and longest interconnected rail network in Africa but are heavily dependent on South Africa's road and rail system. Six of the nine SADCC countries are landlocked. The most critical, the closest and lowest cost ports serving most of these countries, other than the ports in South Africa are the ports of Beira, Maputo and Nacala in Mozambique, Dar es Salaam in Tanzania and once the Benguela line reopens - Lobito in Angola.

On an average, 30% of SADCC overseas trade in 1984 moved through South African ports. The percentages for four of the SADCC landlocked countries are significantly higher than the SADCC average: over 50% for Zambia; 70-80% for Zimbabwe; 85-90% for Malawi and nearly 100% for Lesotho. For Zaire, 30-35% of its total trade moved through South African ports. Clearly the United States and its allies must assist SADCC in its highest priority, improving its transportation system through The Southern African Transport and Communications Commission (SATCC). Priorities must be given to:

1. Developing the "Beira Corridor" which connects Zimbabwe with the port of Beira by rail. It is Zimbabwe's most direct route to the sea and will greatly assist Zambia, Malawi and southern Zaire. The United States must use its influence to bring about a resolution to the RENAMO insurgency within the region if this transportation network is to remain viable.
2. Develop the Northern Corridors lake, road, and rail connections to ship goods along the Tasara railway in Tanzania to Dar es Salaam.
3. Improve Zambia's railway which connects to the Tasara railway.
4. Rehabilitate the corridor from Malawi to the Mozambican port of Nacala. Again, a resolution of the RENAMO insurgency is vital for success of this endeavor.
5. Upgrade the road that connects Zambia and Zimbabwe.
6. The railway network to Lobito in Angola can be rehabilitated following successful termination of the Angola/Namibia war.

Even with friendly South African routes open, the routes to Mozambican ports and to Dar Es Salaam are the most cost effective for the movement of goods in the southern African region. In the long run these routes are the only ones that make economic sense for many of the region's countries.

The front line states are also heavily dependent economically on South Africa for employment, energy supplies, communications and trade. South Africa heavily employs workers from almost every surrounding country. Unofficial estimates are that South Africa employs 500,000 foreign laborers. Lesotho's workers in South Africa provide over 50% of its GNP. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland depend heavily on South African energy sources. Zimbabwe is still dependent on oil supplies from South Africa due to the difficulties of shipping oil through the Beira pipeline, and Malawi receives 90% of its fuel from South Africa.

In general, the front line states need to reduce their level of unhealthy economic dependency on South Africa. In addition to the above, the United States should support economic trade, and monetary policy reforms with grants designed to attract more investment to the region. Also we should fund mechanisms to facilitate trade among the southern African countries themselves and between them and the rest of the world. This would result in even more growth and a stronger regional economy after transition to majority rule in South Africa.

SANCTIONS Washington should strengthen sanctions more effective by encouraging its Western allies and Japan to support the same measures. This will not bring the South African government to its knees, but will raise the cost of maintaining apartheid and help remove the notion, widely held among South Africa's white population, that the West is not really serious about fundamental change in South Africa. Admittedly, there is a contradiction between strengthening contacts with South Africans and the strategy of sanctions, which seeks to isolate South Africa. But it is a contradiction that must be lived with. Otherwise conditions in South Africa may deteriorate to the point that tougher actions may be called for.

It would be premature for Congress to commit the new administration to tougher sanctions measures being contemplated in a bill (H.R. 21), Amending

the current sanctions Act. It could handicap potential innovative policy options by the Administration. President Bush has publicly stated his desires to oppose additional sanctions against South Africa. Unfortunately he seems to prefer a new era of constructive engagement, with its high potential for failure. Additionally P.W. Botha's recent illness followed by internal efforts to replace him with a more moderate Frederik. W. de Klerk, the education minister and National Party leader, may make the political equation more conducive for accelerated peaceful changes. It would be useful to adopt a "wait and see" posture for the near term.

It should be noted, however, that the Bush administration should not compromise on sanctions now in effect. Nor should the administration continue to simply restate its abhorrence of apartheid, rhetoric that blacks and whites alike are tired of hearing. Additionally, comprehensive diplomatic and economic sanctions must not be implemented only in response to provocative actions by Pretoria. But sanctions should be an instrument of pressure tied to specific future goals and part of a wider diplomatic effort aimed at achieving U.S. strategic objectives.

Historical relationships with South Africa have demonstrated that sanctions without diplomacy creates a hostile stand-off and quiet diplomacy without sanctions will render America's policies irrelevant. Indeed, Pretoria's response to current sanctions has been to expand its economic links with Western allies and with most of the surrounding states in order to compensate for lost markets elsewhere and to facilitate sanctions-busting, while intensifying its military efforts to establish itself as a regional superpower. Therefore, stronger sanctions must be a part of the new administration policy options.

Despite opinions to the contrary, the ambassador from Botswana expressed prevailing sentiment among Black Africans when he said: "If we must choose between the suffering of apartheid and the suffering of sanctions, we are prepared to accept sanctions. Any measure that can be applied that will end the pestilence of apartheid should be applied, regardless of the consequences." Additionally, he pointed out that the apartheid system already imposes serious economic costs on the neighboring states because of refugees fleeing from South Africa and economic dislocation resulting from South Africa's efforts to destabilize its neighbors.

The ambassador from Zambia was more to the point when he said " To those who oppose sanctions because they will damage the economies of the frontline states, I say, 'You are not protecting us; you are protecting apartheid.'" ⁸

I strongly recommend that the Congressional Bill H.R. 21. , amending the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, be swiftly enacted if the Bush administration's policies and Pretoria fail to take concrete steps in the near term toward establishing majority rule in South Africa. If they continue to fail the domestic and international anti-apartheid litmus test, the following minimum measures must be expeditiously instituted:

1. Prohibiting investments in South Africa.
2. Prohibiting exports to South Africa except for assistance to disadvantaged South Africans.
3. Prohibiting intelligence and military cooperation with South Africa.
4. Prohibiting nuclear assistance to South Africa.
5. Establish within the Department of State a coordinator of South Africa sanctions and an Inter-agency Coordinating Committee on South Africa to be responsible for monitoring the implementation of sanctions against South Africa.
6. Provide assistance for disadvantaged South Africans.
7. Prohibit transport to South Africa of commercial quantities of crude oil or refined petroleum products.
8. Prohibit importation of South African diamonds into the United States under the antitrust laws.
9. Restrict the number of consulates, the size of embassy staffs and the granting of visas for South Africa.
10. Report to Congress the extent to which South Africa has been involved in or has provided support for international terrorism.
11. Prohibit importation of South African material into the United States, unless imported from business enterprises that are totally owned by disadvantaged persons.
12. Seek the cooperation of other industrialized democracies in supporting the dismantling of apartheid. Task the President to impose counter sanction penalties against countries taking commercial advantage of any sanctions or prohibition under the Act.
13. Develop a formal program to reduce United States dependence on South African minerals.

14. Confer with African frontline states to implement appropriate measures to prevent circumvention of import restrictions by South Africa.

In conclusion, it is vitally important for Washington to position itself more centrally and neutrally, so that it can offer its services as a credible mediator when opposing sides in South Africa are ready to negotiate. This may mean further straining the relationship between Washington and Pretoria and moving more toward improved relationships with black South Africans who are struggling for the freedom that the United States says they should have, and with front line States in the region which will be bearing the brunt of an expanded sanctions and counter-sanctions war.

And finally the United States must assume and hold the high moral ground -- not because it makes people feel good but because it makes good political sense. A "kinder and gentler nation" committed to these principles is the best hope for motivating the body politic to view African issues through a larger prism. This is the key to a coherent and credible policy.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

<u>DATE</u>	<u>EVENT</u>
-	
1652	Dutch East India Company establishes shipping station colony at Cape of Good Hope
1795	British forces occupy the colony and formally annex it under terms of the European Settlement of 1814
1835	British abolish slavery
1835	The "Great Trek" by Boers into interior to escape British rule
1852	Transvaal granted independence by Britain
1854	Orange Free State granted independence by Britain
1860	Indian indentured labor introduced to British sugar plantations
1881	Diamonds discovered in the Transvaal. Boers revolted against British attempts to annex the Transvaal (first Boer War)
1879	Zulus defeated by British and Zululand annexed to Natal
1886	Gold discovered in the Transvaal
1894	Natal Indian Congress founded by Mahatma's Gandhi
1898	Boers defeat African resistance in Transvaal
1899	The second Boer War. Britain annexed Transvaal and Orange Free State
1902	African Peoples Organization founded by the Cape Colored people
1905	British permitted Boer self government in Transvaal and Orange Free State

- 1906 Military resistance attempted by Zulus "Bambata Rebellion"
- 1910 The Union of South Africa came into being as a British Dominion under white rule
- 1912 South African Native National Congress (SANNC) founded
- 1913 The Native Land Act passed, enforced by the Pass Laws
- 1914 Afrikaner Nationalist Party and The Broederbond founded
- 1915 South Africa occupied German South West Africa (Namibia)
- 1918 Strike by Industrial Workers of Africa (municipal employees)
Commercial Workers Union of Africa (ICU) formed
- 1921 163 Black Africans killed by army in Eastern Cape for refusing to move from state land
The South African Communist Party (SACP) founded
- 1924 Britain petitioned by South Africa for full independence. Granted Commonwealth status in 1931.
- 1925 SANNC renamed the African National Congress (ANC)
- 1926 The Mines and Works Amendment Act formally enforced the job reservations system
- 1929 League of African Rights formed and declared "Dingaans Day"
- 1937 The Industrial Conciliation Act classified Blacks as servants, not workers
- 1944 ANC Youth League established
- 1946 Indian Congress launched passive resistance campaign against racial restrictions to certain areas
- 1948 Nationalist Party established the formal Apartheid System
- 1950 The Group Areas Act established ethnic settlement areas
The Population Registration Act enforced use of identity cards
The Suppression of Communism Act enacted

Nelson Mandela became President of the ANC Youth League and together with the ANC, the Indian Congress and Communist Party held a successful "stay at home" demonstration which was called National Freedom Day

- 1952 The "Defiance Campaign" launched by ANC to coincide with 300th anniversary of white settlement of the Cape.
Mandela banned.
Abolition of Passes and Coordination Documents Act replaced passes with a reference book.
- 1953 The Bantu Education Act curtailed curricula for Blacks
The Public Safety Act provided severe punishment for "disobedience to discriminatory practices"
- 1955 Congress of the People founded (a union of ANC, Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats, and South African Colored Peoples Organization) and adopted the "Freedom Charter"
- 1956 The Industrial Conciliation Act excluded Blacks from skilled jobs
The Colored population was excluded from the voting lists
"Treason Trials" began in response to Freedom Charter activities, lasted until 1961.
- 1957 Successful boycott against bus fares in Alexandria township
- 1959 Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) formed by young ANC dissidents
Bantu Self-Government Act established eight Bantustans
- 1960 Anti-Pass Law campaigns led by ANC and PAC led to the "Sharpeville Massacre". PAC and ANC banned.
- 1961 South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth and proclaimed a Republic
Sabotage Act authorized six months retention without charges
Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation) formed as urban guerilla unit to carry out program of low intensity conflict
- 1963 Dr Verwoerd assassinated. Succeeded by John Vorster
Mandela, Sisulu and others captured and imprisoned for life
- 1970 Spread of "Black Consciousness Movement" lead by Steve Biko

- 1975 South Africa intervenes in Angolan Civil War
- 1976 Soweto uprising, 574 killed, international condemnation followed
The Bantustan of Transkei was declared independent
- 1977 Steve Biko died in prison.
The second Bantustan of Bophuthatswana declared independent
- 1978 Segregation in the South African Defense Forces (SADF) ended
- 1979 John Vorster resigned due to governmental scandal. Succeeded
by
 Pieter Botha
 Modifications of apartheid (petty apartheid) system began
 Growth of independent Black Trade Unions
 The third Bantustan of Venda declared independent
- 1980 Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)
 asserted intentions of severing South African economic
 dependency (Lusaka Declaration)
Black and Colored students protest against educational system
- 1984 New South African Constitution enacted
Black uprising began against new Constitution
- 1986 State of emergency declared by South Africa
The Comprehensive Ant-Apartheid Act passed by Congress over
 President Reagan's veto
- 1987 Indaba experiment began in Natal Province
Dutch Reform Church renounces Apartheid as being unchristian
State of emergency continued in South Africa
- 1988 A Bill to strengthen sanctions passed by the House of
 Representatives
P. W. Botha sustains a stroke. Efforts begun to obtain a
 replacement but Botha refuses to step aside
Hunger strikes initiated by blacks who are being retained
 without charges, draws international attention

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